

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00

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USCINCEUR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5771

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: OTHER MILITARY ASPECTS

BEGIN SUMMARY. SUBCOMMITTEE HAS CONCLUDED 4 SESSIONS DEVOTED TO THER ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY. HIGHLIGHT OF DISCUSSION WAS SOVIET AMB. MENDELEVITCH'S FIRM STANCE AGAINST SPECIFIC PROPOSALS GOING BEYOND TWO CBMS FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, TREATMENT OF DISARMAMENT ISSUES IN CSCE, AND ANY EFFORTS TO LINK CSCE AND MBFR. FRENCH SUPPORTED LIMITED SOVIET APPROACH. MAJORITY OF NEUTRALS AND NATO ALLIES ESPOUSED MORE OPEN APPROACH TO OTHER MILITARY ISSUES. MENDELEVITCH ALSO RECOUNTED PAST SOVIET SUPPORT FOR INCLUSION OF ALL EUROPEAN STATES IN MBFR AND HINTED SOVIETS MIGHT
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RESURRECT PROPOSAL. SPANISH JUMPED AT IMPLIED SOVIET

OPEN-DOOR POLICY FOR NEUTRALS. END SUMMARY.

1. FIRST ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS ON OTHER MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY WHICH MIGHT FALL UNDER PARAS 22 AND 24 OF THE FINAL HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS REVEALED CLEAR DEMARCATION LINE BETWEEN RESTRICTED SOVIET AND FRENCH POSITIONS AND MUCH MORE PERMISSIVE ATTITUDE OF MAJORITY OF NEUTRALS AND NATO ALLIES.

2. IN TAKING UP CUDGEL AGAINST EXPANDED MILITARY CONTENT CSCE, SOV AMB MENDELEVITCH PROFESSED OPTIMISM THAT SUBCOMMITTEE HAD PREPARED BASIS FOR AGREEMENT ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, ALTHOUGH DIVERGENCIES REMAIN ON A NUMBER OF CONCRETE ISSUES. HE QUICKLY EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH FRENCH, HOWEVER, THAT OTHER MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY ARE NOT SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIED IN THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS. RECITING A LONG HISTORY OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT, MENDELEVITCH, NEVERTHELESS, ASSERTED CSCE CANNOT DEAL WITH DISARMAMENT; IT HAS OTHER TASKS. WHILE CSCE SHOULD NOT OVERLOOK MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD ADOPT A REALISTIC ATTITUDE TOWARD DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS.

3. IN OPPOSING ANY INSTITUTIONALIZATION BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR, MENDELVITCH RECOUNTED PAST SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE INCLUSION OF ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS IN MBFR. HE REGRETTED THAT THIS PROPOSAL AHD NOT BEEN ACCEPTED AT VIENNA, BUT NOTED THAT SOVIET GOVERNMENT RESERVED RIGHT TO RAISE IT AGAIN. (COMMENT: MEMBER OF FRG CSCE DELEGATION TOLD US EAST GERMANS STATED SOVIETS INTEND TO RESURRECT INVITATION TO ALL EUROPEAN STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN MBFR. END COMMENT.) SPANISH AMB POUNCED ON MENDELEVITCH'S REFERENCE TO EXPANDED PARTICIPATION, STATING THAT, IF TRUE, HE WOULD SO INFORM HIS GOVERNMENT. MENDELEVITCH DID NOT RESPOND.

4. YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS HAVE INDICATED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY THAT THEY REALIZE THEIR SWEEPING PROPOSALS HAVE LIMITED PROSPECTS. NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE PERSISTING IN SEEKING GENERAL ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR IDEAS AS PART OF A LONG-RANGE PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE. WHILE MOST NATO ALLIES FIND THESE PROPOSALS UNACCEPTABLE, THEY HAVE SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF ACCEDING TO
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EXPRESSION OF GENERAL "PRINCIPLES" WHICH MIGHT BE EMBRACED IN PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE TO A FINAL DOCUMENT ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY.

5. BELGIANS HAVE PROPOSED FIVE SUCH "PRINCIPLES" FOR INCLUSION IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT. NO DELEGATION HAS DESCRIBED THESE AS INSTRUCTIONS OR SPECIFIC GUIDELINES FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT HAVE GENERALLY CHARACTERIZED THEM AS

"THOUGHTS" OR "CONSIDERATIONS" WHICH SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND. SINCE THESE FIVE "PRINCIPLES" COVER THE SUBJECTS UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE LAST FOUR SESSIONS, SIGNIFICANT HIGHLIGHTS ARE PRESENTED BELOW UNDER THE APPROPRIATE "PRINCIPLE":

A. EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR FORCE REDUCTIONS. MENDELEVITCH SAID IN SOVIET VIEW CSCE PARTICIPANTS COULD ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH FORCE REDUCTIONS NEGOTIATIONS AND CITED THE SOVIET PROPOSED LANGUAGE IN THEIR DRAFT GENERAL DECLARATION ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY (CSCE/I/3), TABLED IN HELSINKI ON 4 JULY, 1973). HE WAS PREPARED TO INCLUDE A SIMPLER FORMULATION, BUT IN ANY CASE, SUCH LANGUAGE COULD NOT ESTABLISH A LINKAGE BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR. MENDELEVITCH EMPHASIZED THAT SOVIETS HAD TAKEN THEIR PHRASEOLOGY FROM PRESS RELEASE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE VIENNA MBFR PREPATORY TALKS. WHILE THE FRENCH ARE UNENTHUSIASTIC, ALL NATO AND NEUTRAL REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAVE SPOKEN HAVE SUPPORTED SUCH AN IDEA.

B. HOPE THAT DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING POSITIVE. WHILE MOST CSCE PARTICIPANTS SEE THIS CONSIDERATION DIRECTED AT MBFR, MANY ASPIRE TO MAKE IT MORE GENERAL IN EFFECT. THIS PRINCIPLE ENJOYS THE SAME SUPPORT AS PARA A. ABOVE.

DESIRE THAT NEGOTIATIONS TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS OF NATIONS NOT PARTICIPATING IN MBFR. MENDELEVITCH DREW A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN FORCE REDUCTION TALKS CONFINED TO CENTRAL EUROPE AND CSCE CONCERNS WITH EUROPE AS A WHOLE. HE PRAISED THE MERITS OF STATES ASSUMING OBLIGATIONS TO REDUCE ARMS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ACTING TO CURB UNDERGROUND EXPLOSIONS AND MILITARY BASES, AND CUTTING MILITARY BUDGETS BY 10 PERCENT. BUT HE FIRMLY OPPOSED REGIONAL

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NEGOTIATION LIKE CSCE ELABORATING ON GLOBAL DISARMAMENT MATTERS. HE STATED THAT SWEDISH PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE INFO ON MILITARY BUDGETS (POUCHED SEPARATELY) MUST ALSO BE TREATED ON A GLOBAL BASIS. FINALLY, PARA 24 OF THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINS NO REFERENCE TO A DISARMAMENT PROGRAM AND WHILE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE NO OB
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VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

LENGTHY INTERVENTIONS IN FAVOR OF THEIR OWN PROPOSALS WITHOUT DIRECTLY ATTACKING MENDELEVITCH'S LIMITED POSITION. MOST NATO ALLIES AND NEUTRALS JOINED YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS IN SUPPORTING THESIS OF COMPLEMENTARY NATURE OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY. WHILE NO PARTICIPANTS SAW CSCE TURNING ITSELF INTO DISARMAMENT BODY, YUGOSLAVS TOOK MOST ADVANCED POSITION IN STRESSING THAT WHETHER OR NOT FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT ACKNOWLEDGED COMPLEMENTARY LINKAGE, IT STILL EXISTED AND CSCE COULD NOT IGNORE GENERAL QUESTION. YUGOSLAVS THEREFORE WANT FULL DISCUSSION OF ALL PROPOSALS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. ROMANIANS WANT TO GO FURTHER AND OBTAIN SUPPORT FOR FUTURE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM WHICH ENVISAGES ULTIMATELY PROHIBITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, WITHDRAWAL ALL FOREIGN FORCES, CONFIDENTIAL
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DISMANTLING MILITARY BASES, REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS, REDUCTION OF TROOPS, NON-NUCLEAR ZONES, UNDERTAKING BY NEUTRAL POWERS NOT TO MAKE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FINALLY THE ABOLITION OF MILITARY BLOCS IN A STEP-BY-STEP PROGRAM.

D. NEED FOR KEEPING NON-PARTICIPANTS IN MBFR INFORMED OF THE PROGRESS AND RESULTS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

MENDELEVITCH EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY FOR THE RIGHT OF STATES NOT PARTICIPATING IN MBFR TO BE INFORMED OF PROGRESS AND RESULTS. HE RECALLED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD SUPPORTED THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL EUROPEAN STATES IN MBFR ON DIFFERENT LEVELS. MENDELEVITCH DESCRIBED THE RIGHT TO INFORMATION, HOWEVER, AS COVERING GENERAL DEVELOPMENTS AND NOT TECHNICAL DETAILS. ANY INFORMATION SHOULD NOT PASS THROUGH CSCE SINCE THIS WOULD PROVIDE A LINK WITH MBFR. MOST NATO ALLIES AND ALL NEUTRALS HAVE SUPPORTED ARRANGEMENTS TO KEEP NON-PARTICIPANTS INFORMED. U.K., NETHERLANDS AND FRG JOINED EARLIER U.S. OPPOSITION TO INSTITUTIONAL LINK (GENEVA 5329). U.K., DUTCH AND FRG SAID MODALITIES COULD BE LOOKED AT IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS, BUT THEIR PREFERENCE IS FOR BILATERAL CHANNELS.

E. POSSIBILITY FOR NON-PARTICIPANTS IN MBFR TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, TOGETHER WITH SEVERAL OTHER NEUTRALS AND BELGIANS, HAVE PLUMPED CONSISTENTLY FOR SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY. NO CSCE PARTICIPANT HAS YET SUGGESTED MODALITIES FOR IMPLEMENTING SUCH A PROPOSAL ALTHOUGH CZECHS DIRECTED AN UNANSWERED QUESTION TO THE EFFECT TO THE BELGIANS. THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR, DESPITE HIS EAGERNESS TO FURTHER LINKAGE BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR, QUESTIONED THE FEASIBILITY OF SUCH A PROPOSAL.

6. COMMENT: THE CURRENT SOVIET POSITION CONCENTRATES ON IDEAS IN PARAS A, B, AND D ABOVE. THE FRENCH ARE OPPOSED TO ANY LINKAGE WITH MBFR, OBSERVING THAT THE FINAL HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAIN NO REFERENCE TO MILITARY SECURITY, AND THAT WHILE THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS ARE COMPLEMENTARY, FRANCE QUESTIONS ANY EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE POLITICAL NATURE OF CSCE BY TREATING CONFIDENTIAL
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DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS OR DEVELOPING A SET OF PRINCIPLES FOR VIENNA. WE FORESEE POSSIBILITY MOVE TO ABSORB ROMANIAN AND YUGOSLAV PRESSURE THROUGH SET OF "PRINCIPLES" ALONG LINES OF BELGIAN SUGGESTIONS. END COMMENT.BASSIN

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